

Whose remarks?

JAPAN NATIONAL PRESS CLUB  
MARCH 26, 1996  
U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS  
IN THE POST-COLD WAR PERIOD

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME THIS AFTERNOON. THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS THE FOUNDATION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO OF THE MOST IMPORTANT COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. OUR ALLIANCE HAS SERVED AS THE CORNERSTONE OF STABILITY IN EAST ASIA FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS, AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO REGIONAL AND WORLD STABILITY FAR INTO THE FUTURE.

THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN PART OF MY LIFE SINCE CHILDHOOD. I WAS LIVING IN JAPAN WITH MY PARENTS IN 1952 WHEN THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY AND THE SECURITY TREATY WENT INTO EFFECT. I SPENT TWO SUMMERS IN OKINAWA AS A TEENAGER WHEN MY FATHER WAS THE U.S. CONSUL GENERAL THERE. DURING MY OWN CAREER AS A U.S. FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, I HAVE BEEN POSTED TO JAPAN FOUR TIMES, AND WORKED ON JAPANESE AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON; MUCH OF THIS TIME HAS BEEN FOCUSED ON THE POLITICAL/MILITARY ASPECT OF THE RELATIONSHIP. I HAVE WITNESSED THE VITALITY AND ADAPTABILITY OF THIS CRUCIAL ALLIANCE.

PRESIDENT CLINTON WILL BE IN TOKYO FOR A STATE VISIT NEXT MONTH. A KEY ELEMENT OF THE APRIL SUMMIT WILL BE A SECURITY DECLARATION WHICH WILL REAFFIRM THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE. IN ONE OF THE GREAT DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS STORIES IN MODERN HISTORY, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OVERCAME WAR AND HOSTILITY TO FORGE A SOLID ALLIANCE. TODAY, THIS ALLIANCE IS AS IMPORTANT AS IT HAS EVER BEEN. IT CONTINUES TO ENSURE THE STABILITY WHICH MAKES ALL OTHER PROGRESS POSSIBLE.

AN ENDURING CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS

OUR SECURITY TIES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ROOTED IN THE COMPATIBILITY OF AMERICAN AND JAPANESE INTERESTS IN EAST ASIA. JAPAN AND THE U.S. ARE BOTH STABLE DEMOCRACIES COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL PROGRESS. WE BOTH BELIEVE THAT

MARKET ECONOMIES ARE THE BEST MEANS TO PROSPERITY, AND WE BOTH SHARE A VITAL INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL, STABLE, AND PROSPEROUS ASIA-PACIFIC REGION.

THE THREATS TO THESE SHARED INTERESTS, HOWEVER, HAVE EVOLVED OVER TIME. THE ALLIANCE WAS FORMULATED DURING THE KOREAN CONFLICT, AT THE HEIGHT OF THE COLD WAR. OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHARED A COMMON INTEREST IN CONTAINING THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CHALLENGE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. THE AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR OF THE SOVIET REGIME, ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, MADE IT RELATIVELY EASY FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO EXPLAIN TO THEIR CITIZENS THE BASIS FOR THE ALLIANCE.

THE U.S. AND JAPAN HAVE ALWAYS WORKED HARD TO ADJUST OUR ALLIANCE TO CHANGING TIMES. IN 1960, WE REVISED THE SECURITY TREATY TO REFLECT A MORE EQUAL RELATIONSHIP. IN 1972, WE RETURNED THE ADMINISTRATION OF OKINAWA TO JAPAN, WHICH ENDED THE POST WORLD WAR II PERIOD. AND IN THE 1980S, JAPAN ASSUMED AN INCREASING SHARE OF THE MUTUAL DEFENSE BURDEN, INCLUDING THE PROTECTION OF SEA LANES AND GENEROUS HOST NATION SUPPORT AGREEMENTS.

THE 1990S HAVE POSED A NEW AND PERHAPS MORE FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGE TO THE ALLIANCE. THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR HAVE CAUSED CRITICS IN BOTH JAPAN AND THE U.S. TO ARGUE THAT WITHOUT AN IMMEDIATE MILITARY THREAT, THE RATIONALE FOR THE ALLIANCE HAS EVAPORATED. THESE CRITICS TEND TO ARGUE THAT THE POST-WAR STRATEGIC DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JAPAN, BY WHICH THE U.S. DID THE "HEAVY LIFTING" OF GUARANTEEING SECURITY WHILE JAPAN PROVIDED BASES FOR THE U.S. AND ENJOYED THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF STABILITY, IS NO LONGER VALID. THE DEBATE ABOUT THE CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF THE ALLIANCE WAS FURTHER STIMULATED BY THE DEPLORABLE INCIDENT IN OKINAWA LAST SEPTEMBER. IN JAPAN, PERHAPS FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE REVERSION OF OKINAWA IN 1972, THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP BECAME A FRONT-PAGE STORY. AT THE SAME TIME SOME AMERICANS, NOTING THE EMOTIONAL REACTION IN JAPAN, RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LONG-TERM VIABILITY OF OUR ALLIANCE.

I BELIEVE THAT VIGOROUS DISCUSSION IN BOTH COUNTRIES ABOUT THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF NATIONAL SECURITY BE DEBATED OPENLY IN

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES SUCH AS OURS. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE RESULT OF THIS DEBATE WILL BE A REAFFIRMATION BY BOTH COUNTRIES OF THE CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF OUR ALLIANCE TO JAPAN, THE U.S., THE REGION, AND THE WORLD.

IT IS NATURAL TO ASK WHY THE ALLIANCE IS STILL IMPORTANT. IT IS TRUE THAT THE LOOMING SOVIET THREAT IS GONE. IT IS TRUE THAT EAST ASIA IS, FOR THE MOST PART, AT PEACE. HOWEVER, BENEATH THE SURFACE, THERE REMAIN SOURCES OF SERIOUS TENSION.

FOR THE FIRST TIME THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE IS NOT DIRECTED AT ANY SPECIFIC COUNTRY OR DESIGNED TO COUNTER AN IMMINENT THREAT. RATHER, THE TREATY IS A HEDGE AGAINST UNCERTAINTY. THESE UNCERTAINTIES INCLUDE THE SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, THE NATURE OF CHINA'S FUTURE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY, THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA, UNRESOLVED TERRITORIAL DISPUTES THAT COULD AFFECT VITAL SEA LANES, AND THE THREAT POSED BY THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

WE ALSO SEE INCREASING MILITARY SPENDING BY MANY ASIAN COUNTRIES. IN THIS FLUID ENVIRONMENT, THE REMOVAL OR DRAMATIC REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES COULD SEND THE WRONG MESSAGE ABOUT OUR COMMITMENT TO THE REGION.

IN THE LONGER TERM, COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AS THE DYNAMIC ECONOMIES IN EAST ASIA PURSUE AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT PLANS, AND THIS COULD GIVE RISE TO TENSIONS. THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN EAST ASIA HELPS ENSURE THAT RESOLUTIONS TO THESE TERRITORIAL AND RESOURCE ISSUES ARE PURSUED PEACEFULLY.

AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE STABILITY OF THIS REGION, WE MUST LOOK SOBERLY AT THE FACT THAT THE END OF THE COLD WAR DID NOT USHER IN AN ERA OF CERTAINTY OR PREFACE THE ADVENT OF STABILITY. MANY ARGUE THAT THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IS EVEN LESS STABLE -- WITH GREATER POTENTIAL FOR SMALLER-SCALE CONFLICTS IN UNEXPECTED PLACES -- THAN IT WAS UNDER THE PRIOR BI-POLAR INTERNATIONAL PARADIGM. FROM ANY PERSPECTIVE, TENSIONS REMAIN, BUT SO DOES THE U.S.-JAPAN COMMITMENT TO SECURING OUR NATIONS' INTERESTS HERE.

## THE AMERICAN STAKE IN ASIA

THE UNITED STATES IS IN ASIA TO PROTECT ITS OWN STRATEGIC, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS. STABILITY AND PROSPERITY IN THIS REGION ARE KEY TO A HEALTHY AMERICA, AND OUR STAKE IN THE REGION IS INCREASING, NOT DECREASING. OUR TRADE WITH ASIA EXCEEDS THAT WITH EUROPE, AND THE REGION WILL BE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO US IN THE FUTURE. FOR AMERICA TO PROTECT ITS INTEREST IN THIS VIBRANT REGION, WE MUST REMAIN ENGAGED ECONOMICALLY AND STRATEGICALLY.

U.S. STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT MEANS MUCH MORE THAN STATIONING A GUARD AT THE GATE -- IT MEANS FOSTERING STABILITY IN A BROAD SENSE. INCREASED PROSPERITY HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY THE SPREAD OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS AND GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH ASIAN NATIONS CAN PURSUE PEACEFUL DOMESTIC GOALS AND REGIONAL COOPERATION, NOT MILITARY COMPETITION.

UNLIKE EUROPE, EAST ASIA DOES NOT HAVE MULTILATERAL SECURITY STRUCTURES, SUCH AS NATO OR THE CSCU, TO MANAGE THE SHOCKS AND TENSIONS OF A DIVERSE ASIA-PACIFIC COMMUNITY -- OR TO PREVENT A DE-STABILIZING POWER VACUUM.

AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE, WE NEED TO CONSIDER WITH OTHERS IN THE REGION WAYS TO DEVELOP REGIONAL SECURITY STRUCTURES TO SUPPLEMENT THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN EAST ASIA. LAST YEAR, ASEAN AND ITS DIALOGUE PARTNERS TOOK THE FIRST STEP IN THIS DIRECTION WHEN THEY INAUGURATED THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM (ARF). THE UNITED STATES IS A KEY PARTICIPANT IN ARF AND LOOKS FORWARD TO ITS DEVELOPMENT. BUT THIS WILL TAKE TIME. MOREOVER, THE PREREQUISITE FOR BUILDING A MULTILATERAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK IS REGIONAL STABILITY, WHICH CAN ONLY BE MAINTAINED IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE BY THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE -- THE CRITICAL FACTOR IN THE PACIFIC SECURITY EQUATION.

OUR SECURITY ALLIANCE IS WELCOMED BY NEIGHBORING NATIONS. RECENT STATEMENTS AND EDITORIALS FROM ALL OVER THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF AMERICAN FORCES TO STABILITY IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC. OUR

ASIAN NEIGHBORS KNOW, AS WE DO, THAT A HEALTHY U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE IS GOOD FOR THEM.

WHILE IT IS NOT FOR ME TO PRESENT THE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVE ON BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONS, I DO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS BROAD SUPPORT IN JAPAN FOR OUR ALLIANCE.

IT IS THE POLICY OF ALL JAPANESE POLITICAL PARTIES, EXCEPT THE JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY, THAT THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY SERVES THE NATION'S INTERESTS AND IS A SOURCE OF REGIONAL STABILITY. THERE IS NO GREATER MANIFESTATION OF JAPAN'S SUPPORT FOR OUR MILITARY PRESENCE THAN THEIR VERY GENEROUS HOST NATION SUPPORT -- SOME FIVE BILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR, OR ABOUT HALF OF THE TOTAL COST OF OUR PRESENCE HERE. THE JAPANESE DIET LAST NOVEMBER OVERWHELMINGLY PASSED LEGISLATION EXTENDING THIS SUPPORT FOR ANOTHER FIVE YEARS.

WHILE THERE IS BROAD SUPPORT IN JAPAN FOR THE ALLIANCE, THERE IS ALSO INCREASED QUESTIONING OF THE NEED TO KEEP U.S. FORCES HERE AT CURRENT LEVELS, PARTICULARLY IN OKINAWA. WE UNDERSTAND THE BURDEN ON JAPANESE COMMUNITIES THAT HOST AMERICAN BASES, AND WE WORK HARD TO BE GOOD CITIZENS. HOWEVER, BOTH THE U.S. AND JAPANESE GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT AT THIS TIME WE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT LEVEL OF U.S. FORCES IN THE REGION AND IN JAPAN.

WE ARE VERY MUCH AWARE THAT PEOPLE IN OKINAWA PREFECTURE IN PARTICULAR FEEL THAT THE SECURITY BURDEN HAS BEEN DISPROPORTIONATELY PLACED UPON THEM. OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE ESTABLISHED A SPECIAL ACTION COMMITTEE ON OKINAWA (SACO) WHICH IS NOW CONSIDERING ADJUSTMENTS IN OUR PRESENCE TO REDUCE IRRITANTS AND TO CONSOLIDATE BASES, CONSISTENT WITH OUR RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE TREATY. THIS MAY REQUIRE THE RELOCATION TO MAINLAND JAPAN OF SOME ACTIVITIES NOW CONDUCTED IN OKINAWA.

I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM THE SACO MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D.C. LAST WEEK. WHILE I CANNOT ELABORATE ON DETAILS, I CAN TELL YOU THAT WE ARE MAKING GOOD PROGRESS. WE HOPE TO HAVE SOME SIGNIFICANT STEPS TO ANNOUNCE BY THE TIME OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT.

#### ONGOING DEFENSE COOPERATION

OUR TWO COUNTRIES CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO STRENGTHEN OUR ALLIANCE. THE CO-DEVELOPMENT OF THE F-2, FORMERLY CALLED THE FS-X, IS A PRIME EXAMPLE OF U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION IN THE DEFENSE ARENA. WHILE THAT PROJECT WAS ONCE A SYMBOL OF POTENTIAL DISPUTES BETWEEN US, IT IS NOW A STRONG SYMBOL OF HOW MUCH WE CAN ACCOMPLISH TOGETHER. THE U.S. AND JAPAN ARE ALSO WORKING ON CROSS-SERVICING AGREEMENTS WHICH WILL ALLOW FOR MORE OPERATIONAL COOPERATION, AND WE ARE SEEKING WAYS TO WORK TOGETHER ON PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS.

EVERY DAY WE ENJOY THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY WHICH ARE BUILT UPON A FOUNDATION OF ASIA-PACIFIC STABILITY. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT OVER THE LAST 40 YEARS, BUT THE VALIDITY AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR ALLIANCE CONTINUES. FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY COOPERATION WILL REMAIN THE KEY FACTOR THAT UNDERPINS THIS REGION'S STABILITY.

THANK YOU. I'LL BE HAPPY TO RESPOND TO ANY QUESTIONS THAT YOU MAY HAVE.

REGIONAL UNCERTAINTIES IN GREATER DETAIL (FOR Q AND A)

THE KOREAN PENINSULA REMAINS DIVIDED, AND THE POTENTIAL FOR ANOTHER CONFLICT CONTINUES TODAY. THE FUTURE OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA MUST BE RESOLVED THROUGH A DIALOGUE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA; HOWEVER, THE U.S. AND JAPAN HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY. WE ARE BOTH WORKING VERY CLOSELY WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO RESOLVE ONE OF THE MAJOR CAUSES OF TENSION WITH THE NORTH -- THE NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM. U.S. FORCES STATIONED IN JAPAN PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE IN MAINTAINING DETERRENCE AND A STABLE ENVIRONMENT WHILE WE CONTINUE OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSION ON THE PENINSULA.

IN THE CASE OF THE PRC, THE U.S. AND JAPAN BOTH SEEK CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH A STRONG, STABLE, OPEN, AND PROSPEROUS CHINA THAT IS INCREASINGLY INTEGRATED INTO THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. WE ARE PURSUING A POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT, NOT CONTAINMENT. THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE IS IN NO WAY DIRECTED AT CHINA. THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF CHINESE POLICY IS UNCERTAIN, HOWEVER, AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE REGION, MADE POSSIBLE BY THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY, IS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAINING A BALANCE AMONG KEY REGIONAL PLAYERS AS WE MOVE INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.

THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY WILL HOPEFULLY BENEFIT AS RUSSIA BECOMES A FULL PLAYER IN THE DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. WHILE TRENDS IN THIS DIRECTION ARE ENCOURAGING, UNCERTAINTIES LINGER. A NUMBER OF FORCES WITHIN RUSSIA ARE PUTTING EXTREME PRESSURES ON THAT SOCIETY AND ITS LEADERS, AND THE FINAL VERDICT IS NOT YET IN. HERE AGAIN, THE AMERICAN PRESENCE REPRESENTS A HEDGE AGAINST UNCERTAINTY.

OPEN SEA LANES ARE VITAL TO ALL COUNTRIES IN EAST ASIA -- ACCESS TO OIL AND OTHER RESOURCES DEPENDS ON PEACEFUL PASSAGE THROUGH THESE WATERS. THE U.S. SEVENTH FLEET, BASED IN JAPAN, HELPS PROTECT THE VITAL SEA LANES THAT ARE A LIFELINE OF THIS REGION'S ECONOMY.





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